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and a discussion of the so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo in the British Museum. This discussion, first published in 1880 in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, tended to show that the beautiful statue in question could not be an Apollo, but was a pugilist, and most likely the work of Pythagoras. Dr. Waldstein now adds a page or two of admirable new matter, in which he shows that the Choiseul-Gouffier statue is of a type so famous as to have been followed by the die-sinkers of coins in Sicily in the middle of the fifth century B. C., and that this type was only superseded by that established in the end of the same century by a yet more famous master, Polykleitos. Next comes an essay on *Praxiteles and the Hermes with the Infant Dionysos*, in which, after conclusively reasoning away all doubts as to the Hermes being by the famous Praxiteles, he makes a very able psychologic analysis of the spirit of the art of Praxiteles. In contrast to the art of Pheidias, with its noble naïveté, simplicity, and serene grandeur, he finds in the Praxitelean ideal a sophisticated variety, a passive, moody sensibility, giving to it that sweet melancholy which he sees as the subjective element of Praxitelean art. He presents the Hermes, with its dreamy softness, its sad abstraction and tenderness, combined with latent strength, as a typical work, enlightening us, not only as to the ideal of Praxiteles, but as to the characteristics of the Greek epoch in which he lived; and he traces a likeness between the consciousness that produced this artistic type, and that of the romanticists of our century, De Musset, Shelley, Heine, Chopin.

Dr. Waldstein ends his volume with two essays, one on *The Influence of Athletic Games upon Greek Art*; the other on *The Eastern Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, and the Western Pediment of the Parthenon*. In the latter, the author works from Brunn's geographical method of interpretation of pedimental groups,—a method which Dr. Waldstein has thoroughly made his own.

ARTHUR RICHMOND MARSH.

RECHERCHES SUR LA GLYPTIQUE ORIENTALE par M. JOACHIM MÉNANT. Première Partie. CYLINDRES DE LA CHALDÉE. 4to, pp. 263. Paris, 1883, *Maisonneuve*.

— Seconde Partie. CYLINDRES DE L'ASSYRIE, MÉDIE, ASIE-MINEURE, PERSE, ÉGYPTE ET PHÉNICIE. 4to, pp. 271. Paris, 1886, *Maisonneuve et Leclerc*. [In the two volumes there are eleven plates and 433 illustrations in the text.]

In these two volumes the subject of the intaglios of Western Asia has been for the first time treated by a scholar who is an authority in Assyri-

ology, and has prepared himself for the task by many years of patient study and investigation. The result has been to place before us a work of capital importance for archæology in general, and invaluable for the study of Babylonian antiquities.

In order to review intelligently the second of these volumes, published but a few weeks since, it is necessary to combine with it a consideration of the first, published nearly three years ago, as the two are intimately connected: the Persian and late-Babylonian cylinders, especially, must be studied side by side with those of the earlier Babylonian Empire, in order to understand their genealogy. This work is a first step in the science, and as such has about it much that is tentative, while it leaves a host of questions the solution of which is not even attempted. This difficulty was inherent in the subject and our present knowledge of it, and we must thank M. Ménant for his courage in giving us a work that will be the background on which future attempts will for a long time be worked. One of the greatest difficulties encountered was the classification and arrangement of the material: to get any order out of this almost hopeless chaos. Thousands of these engraved Babylonian seals existed in public museums and private collections, but our notions as to their age, the schools they belong to, and the subjects cut upon them, were hazy in the extreme. In fact, but little importance had been attached to these specimens of the art of Western Asia: their small size and the ignorance as to their character had prevented any attempt to make them tell a story that should throw light on the art-history of Babylonia and Assyria. This was all the more prejudicial to our knowledge of Babylonian archæology, because these small seals were almost the only remains that had come to our notice of the plastic art of Babylonia, with its three thousand years of existence. Until M. de Sarzec's discovery of the sculptures of Telloh, in 1881, we knew of not a single specimen of early Babylonian sculpture: all that we possessed were a few reliefs belonging to the period of complete decadence (xii to ix cent. B. C.), when Assyria had already attained to supremacy (steles of Marduk-idin-ahi, etc.). This almost complete absence of sculpture must not be considered due to unpopularity of the art in Babylonia: though the bas-relief was but little used, we know that sculpture in the round was constantly practised. The real reason is that so little scientific excavation has been accomplished on the sites of the old Babylonian cities. In the meantime, the elements of a comparison between the plastic art of Assyria and that of its more ancient neighbor were wanting, and the mistake could be freely indulged in which has led many and even eminent authorities in art-history to confound the arts of the two countries, and to deny to each the individuality that truly belongs to it.

It is here that the importance of the seal-cylinders arises. Being in general use at all times, they date back to the earliest period, and descend in unbroken succession to the time of the Persian and Seleucid dominion; so that eventually, when their various stages have been identified, they will form of themselves an epitome of the development of the glyptic art in the East. It is interesting to find that, from these cylinders alone, the gulf between Babylonian and Assyrian art is perfectly evident, both as to technique and conception. In a Babylonian cylinder the figures have no marked outlines, nor is there any attempt to emphasize the minor lines of muscle, drapery, or ornamentation: action is almost entirely wanting, the scenes are devoid of any striking effects, and the expression is usually quiet. In an Assyrian cylinder, on the contrary, the outlines are sharp, and, as in the larger sculptures, there is an abundance of detail in the emphasis of lines and ornamentation: most striking of all is the vigorous action, the expression, often exaggerated, and the striving after strong effects. A study of the scenes represented shows that the same distinction presided over the conception, as well as the execution, of these miniature compositions: the favorite Babylonian legends are often dropped, and when used are generally modified; while others connected with the worship of Aššur are introduced.

The seals were made of many kinds of material: hematite, black and colored marbles, jasper and porphyry; rock-crystal, onyx, chalcedony, agate, lapis-lazuli, carnelian, sapphirine, ivory and bone. The shapes varied according to the method of using them: but the two most commonly made were the conical and the cylindrical; the former of which appears only at a late period, the earlier seals being invariably cylinders with a hole through the centre for a metal rod by which to roll them on the wet clay or the wax, and by which they were suspended around the person of the wearer. They were a necessary part of the costume of Babylonian and Assyrian gentlemen; not only of those who occupied official positions, but of all adult private persons, who used them to affix their signature to documents of any description. This accounts for the profusion in which they are found. All bear engraved some figured scene, generally of religious import, and very often the name of the owner is added. The subjects are taken from the mythology or legends of Babylonia; a large proportion representing an adoration scene or a sacrifice, in which is represented the owner before his patron divinity, either alone or led forward by a priestly intercessor. In the earlier series the variety of subjects is very great, and many of them, relating to early Babylonian popular legends, are as yet inexplicable to the archæologist. It is clear, however, that a careful comparative study of these engraved stones with the early literature will eventually throw much light on the figured

mythology of Babylonia, which is still a blank to us. At present no certain interpretation of the greater part of the subjects is possible. The inscriptions are usually difficult to read on account of their archaism and brevity, consisting, as they do, mainly of proper names.

Several collections of seals have already been published before Ménant's present work, by Cullimore and Lajard in particular, but without any intelligent criticism. At the present moment, M. Ménant himself is editing in heliotype plates the entire collection of M. de Clercq, consisting of four hundred cylinders; the largest in existence except that of the British Museum which contains six hundred and sixty. In Paris, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Louvre together contain about as many, each of them having over three hundred seals. The only other European collection of importance is that of the Hague (150), but, as the United States are beginning to collect quite a number, I will mention these collections of ours with more detail for the benefit of foreign archæologists. The Metropolitan Museum of New York possesses at present over sixty seals, some belonging to the Kypriote collections, a few coming from previous purchases, and a large number from the collection brought here two years ago by M. Maimon. Mr. R. S. Williams of Utica (N. Y.) has a choice collection of some twenty-five, among which is a fine royal cylinder. M. Ménant will illustrate these in the next number of the JOURNAL. At Amherst College there is a collection of about the same number, sent over at various times from Syria. The largest collection and one of the finest in existence is, however, that brought home, nearly a year ago, by Dr. William Hayes Ward, who made it during the Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia, conducted under the auspices of the Archæological Institute. This collection, amounting to about two hundred and fifty Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, Syrian, Hittite and Phœnician cylinders, includes many choice examples, and many which possess the peculiar value that the localities from which they came are known. As I shall have occasion to remark on the impossibility which M. Ménant has found, with few exceptions, of attributing any group of cylinders with certainty to any particular school and city, the importance of this certified provenance will easily be seen.

In M. Ménant's first volume, the difficulty of classification was most serious. The method which he adopted was partly geographical, partly according to subject. Of course, the more or less archaic forms of the inscriptions that accompanied many of them were good evidence as to their belonging to the early or the middle empire: however, the difference in style, even among the earliest specimens, was apparent, and the main difficulty was and is to identify each style with some kingdom or period. A royal cylinder of "Segani-sar-luh," a king of Sippara-Agadé,

probably anterior to Sargon I (3800 B. C.), is a good though narrow basis for attributing to the school of Agadé a large group of very archaic seals portraying, principally, scenes from the legend of Izdubar, the Babylonian Herakles. Seals of the great kings of Ur,—Ur-Gur, Dungi (2900–2800), “Gamil-Sin,”—and of their dependents the kings of Nippur and Zirgulla, show that at Ur, the greatest city of South Babylonia, there existed an important and characteristic school of sculpture, whose types stand out clearly from those of all other groups. The school of Erech is not so well established: though it certainly existed as an important unit, the only two examples brought forward do not give it much individuality. But the styles of Agadé and Ur have a number of contrasting characteristics. In the Agadé seals the style is bold and massive; the figures strong; the animals rendered with truthfulness to nature; figures in the nude are frequent; and here more than in any other examples we find a careful study of anatomy. The effects are broad, though there is much careful work in details. The scenes on the seals from Ur are totally different, and on examination seem even to point to a difference of race between the peoples portrayed on the works of North (Agadé) and those of South Babylonia (Ur). The figures of Ur are long and slender, with clinging drapery which is often divided into flounces, especially in the female figures; there is less knowledge of anatomy and no attempt to portray the nude, and in general a much less artistic faculty than at Agadé. The heads are small and of a more delicate, ascetic type. Related to the school of Agadé is a series of seals engraved with fantastic animals pitted against each other or against Izdubar and Heabani. On one point in the arrangement and relation of classes, we may be allowed to differ from M. Ménant. In point of age, he places at the very head those seals where fantastic animals are drawn in the rudest and most barbarous manner. Dr. Ward has already suggested that these works may well be assigned to the decadence, and not to the rise, of the glyptic art in Babylonia. The earliest works whose age we know, show that the appreciation of animal form was strongest at this time. The common error that art must follow a law of evolution from the barbarous state, and gradually advance to perfection, is one that leads to many misconceptions.

A chapter is set apart for the works belonging to the time of the *Patesi*, a term generally translated *viceroys* and applied to the minor rulers of Babylonian cities and states. It may be well to recognize a difference in age among these works, and to place some at a much later date than would here be indicated, for the title of *Patesi* lasted for many centuries, and was in use for a long time after the rise of the empires of which Sargon I and Ur-Gur were the founders. To continue in the order of M.

Ménant's first volume, we find that the chapters which follow those on Agadé, Erech and Ur, are entitled: Sacrifices—Beltis—Invocations—Various Subjects—Zirgurla—Larsam. Many are the cylinders on which religious sacrifices are represented, and these M. Ménant wishes to connect with the school of Ur, which made of this subject a specialty: he has pointed out, quite rightly, the interesting texts in the ritualistic and astrological literature of Babylonia and Assyria that throw light on these religious rites, represented in so varied a manner. In some cases we cannot fail to recognize proofs of those human sacrifices by which the Babylonians cast a blot on their civilization. The subject discussed in the chapter devoted to representations in which there appears a nude female deity is not very easy of solution: it derives its main difficulty—that of the identification of this figure—from the very haziness of our knowledge of the Babylonian pantheon. We have not yet learned to make the requisite mythological distinctions between the various female divinities worshipped throughout Babylonia: Nana, Ishtar, Belit, Anat, Zarpanit. We are still unable to trace the development of their myths; to distinguish the earlier from the later philosophic conception; to separate the special worship, which the different cities devoted to their patron divinities, from the position these occupied in the general pantheon.

Another class of seals bear inscriptions containing invocations in favor of the wearer: these are connected with the general belief of the Babylonians in magic and in the protective power of certain formulas. M. Ménant, in several places, hints at one of the most interesting questions raised by a study of the seals: the identity of the various divinities represented, and the relation to these divinities of certain animals and signs that appear on the seals either in connection with these divinities or as their symbols. He remarks (p. 204): "On a établi de tout temps une corrélation plus ou moins directe entre certaines divinités et certains animaux. Cette corrélation existait évidemment en Chaldée au moment où nous rencontrons ainsi l'animal servant de piédestal à la divinité. Si nous connaissions cette association d'idées, il nous serait possible de déterminer, par le genre de l'animal, la divinité que l'artiste a voulu rendre, mais c'est précisément ce qu'il faut chercher." It would be easy to prove the great importance of the study of this relationship, as a successful attempt would give us the key to the entire figured representation of Babylonian mythology. In the chapter on Larsa, attention is called to the importance of the clay contract-tablets, found there by Loftus, bearing the impressions of the seals. As there are many of them dated, some from the reign of Rim-Agu, others from that of Hammurabi (2168 B. C.), they are of especial interest for comparative study both of subject and of style.

M. Ménant has wisely abstained from formulating any dogmatic opinion

on the age of the seals described in his first volume, except in so far as he considers them all to be anterior to the reign of Hammurabi. Some assistance can be derived from the materials themselves, as we know that certain stones—black marble and hematite, for example—were used at an early period, while others came into common use at a later date. Indications of style and of more or less perfection of workmanship are often deceptive, as inferior work was done at all times: many seals were executed by special order, while the greater number were ready-made, and turned out by the hundreds, the purchasers simply having their names engraved on them. But, setting aside these uncertainties, what are the general conclusions to be drawn from what we learn of the practice of the glyptic art in Babylonia? We already knew that from the dawn of this civilization were practised the arts of metal-founding, of carving colossal statues out of the hardest marble, and of weaving stuffs in wondrous patterns; and now we find that the Babylonians were acquainted with all the complicated instruments necessary for the perfect cutting of *pietra dura*, and that they probably used the lens from the earliest period.

In the second volume the seal-cylinders of Assyria are treated, and at the same time those of Media, Asia Minor, Persia, Egypt and Phœnicia. The connecting link between the arts of Babylonia and Assyria has always remained a mystery, and this is just as true in the glyptic art as it is in large sculpture; and this difficulty M. Ménant has met without being able to solve. To those who hold to the practical dependence of Assyria on the earlier civilization of Babylonia this is certainly a disappointment. In reality, there did exist a close relationship, but I have already remarked on the recklessness with which this relationship is disfigured and enlarged. For Assyria this small branch of the fine arts has by no means the same unique interest as for Babylonian art and mythology: the great bas-reliefs are a far better index of its plastic development. Besides, we do not find in Assyrian seals the same variety of types and subjects: there is far greater repetition, and the work seems less artistic and more perfunctory. Consequently, much of the interest vanishes, though at the same time we better comprehend the scenes portrayed, and are also able to assign the works with somewhat more precision to their particular period and school. We have already remarked on the differences in technique and conception between the seals of the two countries. Among other differences a further, merely mechanical, one may be here noted: the inscriptions are traced on the cylinders as they should be read, and not reversed as in Babylonia. A fundamental difference is shown in the drawing of the human form: in Babylonian seals there is not the least disinclination to draw the naked figure,—often with success, as at Agadé,—but with the Assyrian seal-cutter this was never



attempted. A comparison of the small works with the larger sculpture shows that the seal-cutters were mere artisans, as compared with the sculptors, and that their work was careless and inartistic. Animals, so finely portrayed on Babylonian seals, and rendered with so much life and beauty in the Assyrian bas-reliefs, are given in an unskilful and sketchy manner. In the material execution itself there is also a decided inferiority, except in the case of royal cylinders and others of especial importance.

It would be natural to suppose the existence of separate schools in the several great cities of Assyria: Aššur, Kalah, Nineveh and Arbela; but no proofs of this exist. In suggesting a chronological succession, M. Ménant places at the beginning of Assyrian glyptics the seals that are executed with the point; that is, where the outlines are merely engraved, without any modelling: to a slightly later period he assigns those examples where the *bouterolle* or drilling hammer is used; and to the Sargonid dynasty, finally, the perfection of the technique, when the figures no longer bear any disfiguring traces of the instruments used in their execution. Much obscurity attaches to the whole subject from the almost complete lack of inscriptions, which, on the seals of Babylonia, were so numerous and helped to localize and to date certain styles. A comparative study of the subjects shows that a large proportion of them can be explained from our acquaintance with Assyrian literature and mythology. Among the figures that appear to be purely Assyrian inventions are the sphinx, the man-headed bull, the man-fish, the eagle-headed genius, the winged symbol of the god Aššur, the sacred tree, the men-caryatides, etc.

Connected with the Assyrian glyptic school were, according to M. Ménant, the seals of Armenia and Asia Minor,—the latter being represented by the Hittites. Here we meet a very delicate question, and one on which it is impossible to speak with any certainty. That the Hittites used seals engraved with their own hieroglyphic system is certain, and we cannot deny that they were well acquainted with the art of seal-cutting, as with all the arts. But the examples of Hittite seals that are brought forward are few in number. Some have Hittite characters engraved on them; others bear Assyrian inscriptions, like that of the Musée Fol illustrated in this number of the JOURNAL (p. 132): all have certain characteristics in common.

The chapter on "The Second Empire of Chaldæa" is rather short, and the reason is, apparently, the difficulty of recognizing these works of late Babylonian art: the antiquarian mania, so well personified by Nabuna'id (Nabonidos, 556 B. C.), which led to the rebuilding of old temples and to studies for ascertaining their precise age, made the artist of this period seek to reproduce exactly, not only the archaic inscripational

writing, but the very subjects and style of the Early Empire. Often, it is true, he betrayed himself by a slip; by the introduction of some incongruous element or a palpable paleographical error; but the attempt involves the question in a certain obscurity. The best *points d'appui* are the terracotta contract-tablets having impressions of cylinders, which, being exactly dated, show what types of seals were then used. The earliest date found by M. Ménant on the British Museum contracts is the 2d year of Nebuchadnezzar; the latest, the 14th year of Darius.

Persia under the Akhæmenidæ was in seal-cutting, as in monumental sculpture, merely an inferior copyist of Assyria. The famous seal of King Darius in the British Museum, which may be taken as showing the high-water mark of Persian glyptichs, shows careful and skilful execution, but an entire lack of artistic talent, of knowledge of form and proportion, and a ponderous stiffness.

The last and one of the most interesting chapters is devoted to the seals of Phœnicia. In a preliminary chapter on Egyptian seals, M. Ménant shows that those which present a combination of Egyptian subjects with Assyrian inscriptions, or vice-versa, are due to the Phœnicians, the great go-betweens of the East, who were in such close relations at the same time with Assyria and with Egypt. Trading as they did with Nineveh, where many of their seals are found impressed on contract-tablets, they were obliged to adopt the Assyrian custom of employing seals, and with the idea borrowed also the form. Sometimes it is evident that they purchased Assyrian seals ready-made, and had their names inscribed upon them, *tant bien que mal*, in Phœnician letters. But, being a volatile nation, they shortly came to consider the Egyptian scarab as a more convenient form than the cylinder for their seals. Still, though they adhered generally to this Egyptian form, the themes of their seals were for the greater part quite Assyrian, and, at a later period, Persian. The numerous seals found in Kypros show the native Phœnician execution: some date back to Babylonian models, others are imitations of Assyrian and Egyptian works, while in some the influence of Hittite models is evident. There appears to have been in Kypros a manufactory which turned out quantities of third-class works at low prices, which found a ready market on the mainland: the execution is always of the rudest and most summary description, without any attempt at artistic or finished workmanship.

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